

# American Research Center in Egypt, Inc.

## NEWSLETTER



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United States of America

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Cabinet d'Égyptologie SPRING 1978

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Linda Pappas Funsch  
Editor

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## ARCE NEWS

### We've Moved...

The U.S. office of the ARCE was relocated in May. Our new address is 40 Witherspoon Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540. Both telephone number and cable address remain unchanged.

### Assistant Cairo Director Chosen

James Allen has been selected to be the new Assistant Director of the ARCE's Cairo Center. An Egyptologist by training, Mr. Allen, who will receive his doctoral degree from the University of Chicago this summer, has had considerable field experience, having participated in the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey at Luxor between 1973 and 1976.

Mr. Allen will assume his new post in July. We wish him much luck.

### New Corporate Member

ESSO Middle East, a division of the EXXON Corporation and a past contributor to the ARCE, has accepted our invitation to become a regular corporate member of our association.

We are grateful to the EXXON Corporation for its continued support.

### New Institutional Member

The ARCE is pleased to report that the University of Maryland has joined our consortium as an Institutional Member, effective July 1, 1978.

The current university and museum members of the ARCE are listed below:

#### ARCE ACADEMIC CONSORTIUM 1978

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# ANNUAL MEETING, 1978

## Participation

We are pleased to report that participation at the ARCE's 1978 Annual Meeting on April 14, 15, and 16 exceeded two hundred friends and members. For three very full days, panels and workshops were held concurrently at various locations on New York University's Washington Square campus. In addition, special receptions were given in our honor on April 14th, at the Brooklyn Museum by the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art, and on April 15th, at N.Y.U. by our hosts.

Our friends at the Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies were exceptionally gracious in helping us to cope with our unprecedented number of participants. To them, to the program chairmen, and to all who attended... thank you.

## Abstracts

Due to the cooperation of our 1978 Annual Meeting panelists and to the generosity of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, abstracts of approximately sixty conference papers are available in booklet form. While this publication was distributed to registered participants at the meetings in New York, any ARCE member who wishes to receive a copy is invited to inform the Princeton office.

Special gratitude is due to Thomas J. Logan and Patricia Florio of the Museum's Egyptian Department for the organization and preparation of this volume.

## Elections

*Officers:* At its Annual Meeting in New York on April 15, 1978, the ARCE's Board of Governors elected a new President and Vice-President. They are, respectively, Muhsin Mahdi of Harvard University and Nicholas B. Millet of the Royal Ontario Museum. Re-elected officers include R. Bayly Winder, Treasurer, Linda Pappas Funsch, Secretary and Assistant Treasurer (Princeton), and Paul E. Walker, Assistant Treasurer (Cairo).

*Executive Committee:* The members of the 1978/79 Executive Committee, also elected by the Board of Governors, are Muhsin Mahdi, Nicholas B. Millet, Morroe Berger, Robert Fernea, Gerald E. Kadish, David O'Connor, and R. Bayly Winder.

*Board of Governors:* On Friday, April 14, 1978, the general membership of the ARCE elected several new individuals to the Board of Governors. The current list of Governors appears on the next page.

# ARCE BOARD OF GOVERNORS, 1978

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## NEW PUBLICATION

The Smithsonian Institution-funded ARCE translation project entitled, Arabic Writing Today, continues with the publication of Volume II: "The Drama." Edited by Professor Mahmoud Manzalaoui of the University of British Columbia, this volume contains works by Mahmoud Taymour, Tewfik el-Hakim, Mahmoud Diab, Shawky Abdel Hakim, Youssef Idris, Farouk Khorsid, Mikhail Romane, and Mohamed Maghout.

Copies of Arabic Writing Today: "The Drama" are available at the cost of U.S. \$10.00. Requests, accompanied by check or money order only, should be addressed to the ARCE's U.S. office.

# RESEARCH EXPERIENCES IN CAIRO, ALEXANDRIA, AND BEIRUT

David B. Ruedig  
McGill University  
ARCE Fellow, 1977

During the summer of 1977, I was awarded an ARCE fellowship in order to collect material for my dissertation on the life and political thought of Adīb Ishāq. Ishāq, a Syrian Christian, lived from 1856 to 1884; his writing career lasted from about 1875 until his death. Best known as a journalist, Ishāq lived in Beirut, Cairo, Alexandria, and Paris, contributing to newspapers in all of these cities. My efforts were centered around locating the newspapers in which he wrote while also searching for any other relevant materials, such as books, government documents, and church records. In the hope of assisting those who are planning similar research, I would like to recount some of my experiences, concentrating on the reception that I received as a researcher and on the materials available. Even though I was looking for information on a rather specific topic, I was able to obtain a general idea of the type of materials available.

Generally - and not surprisingly - I found that the best known libraries and archives contained the most useful material. Despite a good deal of searching, I found few hidden treasures. Dār al-Kutub and Dār al-Wathā'iq in Cairo and American University, Université St.-Joseph, and Al-Maktabah al-Wataniyyah in Beirut were the richest sources of research material. For many topics, Dār al-Mahfūzāt in Cairo contains valuable information, but I did not need to use it for my particular investigations.<sup>1</sup>

Other researchers' experiences may differ from mine and no one should expect to find conditions exactly the same as I did. For example, I received permission to use Dār al-Wathā'iq much more quickly than had researchers in previous years but it is possible that it may be more difficult for others to get a similar permission so rapidly. Generally, my experiences were good, people were friendly and I was able to see everything I wanted to see. What follows is a description of the places where I searched for material, the information I found, and the treatment I received.\*

<sup>1</sup>On Dār al-Mahfūzāt, see F. Robert Hunter, "The Cairo Archives for the Study of Elites in Modern Egypt", International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, IV (1973), pp. 476-488.

\*I would like to thank Philip Sadgrove for his assistance in the research effort described here. He and I were working on similar topics and it was his idea to visit many of the places cited below.

## I. CAIRO

### A. Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyyah

The Dawriyyāt section of Dār al-Kutub, located in the new Dār al-Kutub building on the Corniche, was my primary source of material. Despite its drawbacks, it contains the best collection of Arabic periodicals that I found. In my search for Ishāq's writings and for information about him, I attempted to see all of the Arabic language newspapers that were published while he was in Egypt (1876 - 1882). I also looked at some European language newspapers and at a few newspapers published between 1882 and 1884. I used neither the manuscript nor printed book sections in the library.

Permission to use Dār al-Kutub was not difficult. With three photographs and a letter of introduction from the ARCE I was allowed to begin work immediately. I understand that in some cases a passport may also be needed for admittance. Once in the library, the staff tried their best to find the newspapers I wanted, but were handicapped by the inaccurate periodicals catalogue. This catalogue was apparently printed while the periodicals were still housed in the old Dār al-Kutub building. Much of the material listed can no longer be found. For me this was a serious problem, since about half of the newspapers I wanted were missing. If I had not unexpectedly found other material in Cairo and Beirut, I might have had to change my dissertation topic.

Other researchers encountered similar difficulties and the situation is likely to worsen as the already disintegrating newspapers fall apart completely. The problem is even more serious than it seems at first, because an important index of Arabic periodicals, 3200 revues et journaux arabes de 1800 a 1965<sup>2</sup>, repeats the errors found in the Dār al-Kutub catalogue. This means that anyone who plans their research on the basis of Ahmed-Bioud's index (as I did) will be misled. I cannot emphasize too strongly that those choosing research topics based on periodicals in Dār al-Kutub should expect that a good deal of the materials that supposedly exists may be missing.

Another minor difficulty in the periodicals section is that the periodicals are divided into three series. The series designations are listed in the catalogue along with the title of each volume of periodicals. The most common series is entitled Dawriyyāt and the volumes in this series can usually be seen minutes after they are requested. Volumes in the other two series, Zakiyyah and Jarā'id Taymūr, are stored far from the periodicals reading room and it may take a day or more to get them.

<sup>2</sup>Paris, 1969.

I had many newspapers microfilmed at Dār al-Kutub. This was easy to arrange, the microfilms were of high quality, and Aḥmad Ḥamīd 'Abd al-Karīm, the head of the microfilm department, was very helpful. The staff in the periodicals reading room knows how to handle requests for microfilming which, incidentally, have to be approved by the Director of the library. Microfilming is somewhat expensive, however, costing some fifteen piasters per exposure.

#### B. Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyyah

The National Archives contain records from many government departments for the nineteenth century. Seeking information about the Egyptian government's press administration and about the Majlis al-Nuwwāb during Ishāq's time in Egypt, I found some valuable material.

In order to get permission to study here I had to first present myself, with photographs and a letter of introduction from the ARCE, at the new Dār al-Kutub building and then apply at Dār al-Wathā'iq itself. One month elapsed before my application was approved (although one student I knew had hers approved in one day). The staff here, headed by Mrs. Sawsan 'Abd al-Ghānī, was very friendly and knowledgeable and helped me a great deal. Although there was no catalogue for the archives, the staff was able to locate what I wanted. I simply requested the documents of Dīwān al-Maṭbū'āt for the 1870's, for example, and they were retrieved. Helen Rivlin's catalogue of Dār al-Wathā'iq provides a generally accurate indication of what is available<sup>3</sup>, even though the cataloguing system she cited has been changed and the archives have been moved from 'Abdīn Palace to the Citadel.

The documents I saw were not at all a comprehensive record of the activities of the Egyptian government. The files contain information on only a few of the many problems and cases with which the various departments must have dealt, but this did not prevent me from finding some valuable information. Most of this information and, indeed, most of the documents I saw were in the form of correspondences of the government departments. Some documents had copies in French and Arabic, but most of them appeared in Arabic only. Judging from the experience of one scholar, material from Dār al-Wathā'iq can be microfilmed, at least in small amounts.

<sup>3</sup>Helen A.B. Rivlin, The Dār al-Wathā'iq in 'Abdīn Palace as a Source for the Study of the Modernization of Egypt in the Nineteenth Century, Leiden, 1970. Also see Hunter, *op. cit.*

#### C. Bayt al-Ummah (The Sa'ad Zaghlul Museum)

Philip Sadgrove and I checked Bayt al-Ummah in the hope of finding newspapers in Zaghlul's personal library, part of which is still in the museum. It is a small and informal place and, while it is by no means a working library, we had no difficulty in studying here. In 1977, the museum was closed for repairs, so the staff had a good deal of time to help us. I found very little that could not be found elsewhere, with two exceptions. First, the museum has many issues of several early twentieth century periodicals, including Al-Diyā', Al-Mugattam, Al-Misri, Al-Ahrām, and Al-Ittiḥād. This may fill in gaps in other collections of these periodicals. Second, the museum has a list of the books in Zaghlul's personal library, which may interest someone studying Zaghlul.

#### D. Al-Ahrām Organization and Microfilming Center

One of the most serious problems with the periodicals collection at Dār al-Kutub was the many missing issues of Al-Ahrām. Toward the end of my stay in Cairo, Philip Sadgrove and I found that this department of Al-Ahrām --- not to be confused with the newspaper's Mahfūzāt --- had a full collection of Al-Ahrām, the only complete collection I ever found. However, I ran into several problems in trying to use these microfilms and it became apparent that this office is not set up to accommodate researchers. Costing five Egyptian pounds (about U.S. \$7.50) per hour to use these films, the single microfilm reader available was situated in the corner of a busy conference room. Since I could not afford to pay for all the time I needed here, it was frustrating to be unable to use such valuable material.

#### E. Majlis Al-Sha'ib

Since Ishāq was briefly a secretary for the Majlis al-Nuwwāb, one of the Majlis al-Sha'ib's predecessors, I looked here for material. I got only as far as the Chief of Protocol, Aḥmad Kāshif, who telephoned the Majlis' librarian to ask if he had any information on Ishāq. Unfortunately, he did not. However, the librarian did say that the library had information on all of the past members of the various Egyptian National Assemblies. I do not know what this information is, or if it is possible to gain access to it, but it might possibly be very valuable.

#### F. Dār Al-'Ulūm

The old Dār al-'Ulūm, in existence when Ishāq was in Egypt, is still operating, so Philip Sadgrove and I looked through its library. We found nothing, and I doubt that it has much to offer the researcher.

### G. Churches and Patriarchates

Since Ishāq was a Christian --- either a Greek or Armenian Catholic --- I tried to find some record of his life at the following places: at the Greek Catholic Church near Maydan Sulayman Pasha the priest checked the congregation register; at the Greek Catholic Patriarchate I was allowed to study the death and baptism records; at the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate I was told that there were no records pertaining to the church's members. I doubt that extensive research would be permitted at any of these places, but information on specific individuals can be found at the Greek Catholic Patriarchate and the Armenian Catholic Church.

### H. The American University in Cairo

Anyone affiliated with the ARCE may use the AUC library upon payment of a small fee. I found this library quite useful, as it has a good collection of secondary materials, especially in Arabic, and it is a pleasant place to study. However, I found nothing here that is not available in the U.S.

## II. ALEXANDRIA

I hunted for information about Ishāq in several places here, but found nothing. Maktabat al-Baladiyyah had only a few well-known periodicals, but these were not published until after 1900. I also went to the Greek Catholic Patriarchate, the Coptic Patriarchate, Alexandria University, and the Jesuits' secondary school without finding any useful material.

## III. BEIRUT

### A. The American University of Beirut

I was allowed to use the main Jaffet Library, without any difficulty. The staff was very friendly, helpful, and efficient. Dr. Yusuf Khouri, the Director, was particularly courteous. The Jaffet Library contains a few Egyptian newspapers and many issues of several Lebanese newspapers, including Al-Taqaḍḍum, Lisān al-Ḥāl, Thamarāt al-Funūn, and Al-Bashīr. Especially noteworthy is the collection of Al-Waqāʿi al-Miṣriyyah. I also discovered a few books at AUB which I could not find elsewhere. I was allowed to microfilm all of the materials I wanted. On the basis of my experience, AUB is definitely a place to check for material.

### B. Al-Maktabah al-Waṭaniyyah

The Lebanese National Library, located in the rear of the Parliament building in downtown Beirut, has a good deal of material as well as a helpful staff. I was easily able to get permission to microfilm material here. The Di Tarrazi collection of Arabic newspapers contains one or a few of the early issues of many newspapers published here before 1930. These newspapers help fill out some incomplete collections and I found them valuable. I also used the library's collection of the newspaper Thamarāt al-Funūn, which began publication in 1875 and continued through Ishāq's lifetime. Other Arabic periodicals can also be found here. The collection of books is well catalogued, but I found nothing of particular interest.

### C. Université St.-Joseph

The Bibliothèque Orientale here was closed when I was in Beirut. I have since corresponded with Fr. Martin J. McDermott at the library and have learned that it has at least one newspaper, Al-Taqaḍḍum, that I need. On this basis I feel that this library is a potentially rich source of material.

### D. Greek Catholic Patriarchate

At the Greek Catholic Patriarchate, I had hoped to find a record of Ishāq and his family. The staff was very cooperative and looked through their books. While I doubt that extensive research would be permitted here, information on specific individuals is available.

### E. The German Institute

Here I was allowed to use the library without any difficulty. Its holdings, well catalogued, are diverse and include a few Egyptian newspapers for the period I was studying, as well as many other Arabic periodicals. While the newspapers I saw duplicated Dār al-Kutub's holdings, this is still a source of valuable material.

مركز البحوث الشرقية بمصر

THE NAG HAMMADI CODICES EDITING PROJECT:  
A FINAL REPORT

by Stephen Emmel  
Institute for Antiquity and Christianity  
Claremont Graduate School

The Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project of the American Research Center in Egypt has marked a crucial chapter in the history of a remarkable collection of ancient manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> These twelve papyrus codices and part of a thirteenth, apparently discovered by a farmer in the vicinity of the Upper Egyptian city of Nag Hammadi near the end of 1945<sup>2</sup> and now kept at the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo, date roughly to the latter half of the fourth century CE.<sup>3</sup> They are among the oldest well-preserved examples of the papyrus codex to have survived the centuries, specimens from the very heart of the epoch-making transition from the scroll to the codex as the standard form for a book.<sup>4</sup> They contain Coptic translations of fifty-one Greek texts,<sup>5</sup> thirty-six of which were

\* Please note that the bibliographical details for works referred to below by author and date appear at the end of this report.

1 A full and authoritative account of this rather complicated history is being prepared by James M. Robinson for publication in *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, scheduled to appear in 1979). See also Doresse (1958-1959) and the revised and expanded English translation of this work, Doresse (1960), Robinson (1967/68), (1972b) and (1977a). A more popular account is given by Dart (1976).

2 For the most recent information on the site and the discovery see Robinson (1976).

3 See especially Barns (1975, 12).

4 For the historical context to which the development of the codex form is relevant see the stimulating study by Roberts (1954) and the article by Skeat (1969).

5 At least two further texts may be represented. The largest unplaced fragments of codex XII (see *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codices XI, XII and XIII* [Leiden: Brill, 1973] pl. 101/102, fragments 1 and 2) have not yet been identified with either of the two known texts in that codex and may therefore represent a fifty-second text. Faint traces of ink beneath the decorative line marking the presumed end of *The Tripartite Tractate* in codex I (p. 138) may be the beginning of a fifty-third text, which could have extended as far as p. 142 of the codex (see Emmel [1977a]). That at least the immediate sources of the Coptic texts were in Greek is not seriously disputed by scholars. That

previously unknown in any form, and represent a selection of works composed at different times across the first three or four centuries of our era and in various parts of the Hellenistic world. (See fig. 1-2.)

Why and by whom these texts were collected together in Coptic is far from clear. For although they display an overall interest in the esoteric aspect of the religious ferment that washed across the Roman Empire in the early centuries of this era, no one doctrinal position unifies their content and no single theme clearly underlies their presentation.<sup>6</sup> Rather, they cast a diffuse and welcome light into several of the darker corners of the religious speculation out of which Christianity emerged as a potent cultural force. (See Appendix I: Table of Texts in the Nag Hammadi Codices.)

It is to the difficult investigation of gnosticism that the Nag Hammadi codices make their largest contribution. Previously known almost entirely from the reports of early Christian theologians who sought to refute them, the gnostics' views on the creation of the world and on the nature and destiny of man can now be studied at first hand in most of the texts from Nag Hammadi. The texts display the rather bewildering diversity of ideas that is itself characteristic of gnosticism and several different types of gnostic thought are represented. One text, though clearly gnostic, polemicalizes both against catholic Christianity and against other gnostic groups as well! This new wealth of primary sources has reopened important questions about the origin and nature of gnosticism and, more importantly, about its evolutionary interaction with early Christianity.<sup>7</sup>

But not all of the Nag Hammadi texts are gnostic. A few reflect more or less orthodox early Christian views. Some derive from the Hermetic tradition. One has been identified as a short section from Plato's *Republic*.

Semitic sources lay behind some of those Greek texts remains a possibility, especially in the case of *The Gospel According to Thomas*. (See, for example, Guillaumont [1958]. Nagel [1969a] attempts to illuminate some obscure passages in *Thomas* by supposing that it was translated directly from Aramaic into Coptic.)

6 The apparent lack of unity among the texts has led some scholars to question the general acceptance of the codices as a group or "library." There is, as yet, no firm evidence to prove that they were ever considered as such in antiquity. (See further Appendix II: The Scribes Who Copied the Nag Hammadi Codices.) Nevertheless, this diversity of content exists not only among the codices but even among the texts within an individual codex. Various attempts to account for this have been made by Sävje-Söderbergh (1967, esp. pp. 552-553 and 559-560) and (1975) and by Frederik Wisse (1971, esp. pp. 219-222) and "Gnosticism and Early Monasticism in Egypt" to appear in *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas* (Göttingen and Zürich: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, in press). Wisse argues that the texts are unified by a strict ascetic tendency.

7 A comprehensive bibliography of studies on gnosticism in general and on the Nag Hammadi texts in particular has been prepared by Scholer (1971). The bibliography is supplemented annually in the autumn issue of *Novum Testamentum* beginning with vol. 13 (1971). For a stimulating introduction to gnostic thought see Jonas (1963).



Fig. 1. The Gebel el-Tarif is a section of the eastern wall of the Nile Valley across the river from the modern city of Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. All the evidence concerning the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices indicates that they were found hidden in a ceramic jar somewhere at the base of this imposing cliff.



Fig. 2. Most of the Nag Hammadi codices arrived at the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo still bound into their leather covers. No member of the Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project ever saw them thus.

As source material for the early history of Christian thought and literature the Nag Hammadi codices are clearly invaluable.

The goal of the Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project, funded by the Smithsonian Institution from July 1974 through January 1975 and again in July and August 1975,<sup>8</sup> has been to further the study of the manuscripts in three respects: physical reconstruction of the fragmented papyrus leaves, conservation of the entire collection for safe storage and display, and publication. The completion of the project has seen major success in all three of these closely interrelated endeavors and brings to a close a long chapter of research authored by the diligent efforts of numerous scholars.

#### *Reconstruction*

The reconstruction of the papyri began, for the most part, in the very late nineteen-fifties with the work of Pahor Labib and Martin Krause. Although codex III, the first of the codices to be acquired by the Coptic Museum, had been conserved in glass frames as early as 1947, the rest remained in the hands of antiquities dealers until 1949.<sup>9</sup> At that time a French scholar working in Cairo, Jean Doresse, completed a hurried inventory of the collection for Egyptian officials and packed the codices into a suitcase. The suitcase was then sealed and kept in the custody of the Department of Antiquities pending the procurement of funds for purchasing its contents. That there was already some disorder among the papyrus leaves and fragments is indicated by photographs of the codices taken prior to their storage in the suitcase, and some damage apparently occurred between this time and the time when the suitcase was again opened, briefly in 1952 and finally in 1956.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, when the German Archeological Institute donated panes of plexiglass to the Coptic Museum in 1959, Labib, Krause and Victor Girgis conserved the papyri in the order in which they found them,<sup>11</sup> thus preserving the fragments in the sequence and condition in which they had come into the possession of the museum.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> I am personally indebted to the Smithsonian Institution and the ARCE for also providing funds for my return to the United States at the close of the project in the autumn of 1977.

<sup>9</sup> During this period most of codex I was exported from Egypt and offered for sale in Europe and the United States. It was purchased for the C.G. Jung Institute in Zürich, Switzerland in 1952 and later presented to the eminent psychologist as a birthday present. In return for publication rights to the part of the codex that remained in Cairo, Jung's heirs have returned their possession to Egypt. The last of these leaves and fragments were registered at the Coptic Museum in October 1975. The Egyptian antiquities dealer had initially conserved this part of codex I in glass frames. These were removed when the binding and papyrus leaves were exported, necessitating a second conservation, this time in plexiglass, when the leaves were acquired for the Jung Institute. Once back in Cairo this part of codex I was reconseved in conformity with the rest of the collection.

<sup>10</sup> See Krause (1962, 122-123).

<sup>11</sup> Krause-Labib (1962, 21).

<sup>12</sup> Krause-Labib (1962, 5 n. 6). With regard to the smaller fragments,

In the case of the well-preserved manuscripts this method of conservation for the most part simply retained the correct sequence of the pages. Thus the initial reconstruction of codices I, II, III, V, VI, VII and XIII<sup>13</sup> posed few problems. But codices IV, VIII, IX, X, XI and XII consisted of about two thousand fragments, only a small number of which could be readily placed in correct page sequence. (See fig. 3.) Krause and Labib succeeded in reconstructing most of codex IV on the basis of other copies of the two texts it contains, though this reconstruction could not be carried through on the papyrus itself without disturbing the official inventory of the fragments.<sup>14</sup> While Krause was also able to draw some conclusions about the original make-up of the other five fragmentary codices, the exact reconstruction of these remained quite problematic.<sup>15</sup>

By this time, however, plans were underway for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to supervise the publication of a photographic facsimile edition of the collection, a continuation of work begun by Pahor Labib.<sup>16</sup> With this project in view, nearly all of the leaves and fragments were photographed between 1962 and 1966, thus permanently recording the evidence that the initial conservation had sought to preserve.<sup>17</sup> In 1968 James M. Robinson was asked by the UNESCO to examine these photographs and to report on the work that would be required to prepare them for publication. The Institute for Antiquity and Christianity (Claremont, California) thereupon initiated the Coptic Gnostic Library Project, directed by Robinson, to prepare English translations of the entire collection. In the course of their work, the scholars engaged in this project also prepared hypothetical reconstructions of the very fragmentary codices and continued the difficult task of identifying the proper places of the many small fragments remaining from all the codices. But in the absence of direct access to the papyri in Cairo their work had to remain unconfirmed.

This circumstance changed in December 1970 when the UNESCO International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices held its first plenary meeting in Cairo. On December 16 the committee was granted permission to open the plexiglass frames and a technical sub-committee of four members (Søren Giversen, Rodolphe Kasser,

however, this method was apparently not rigorously applied. Instead these were often conserved in clusters in a few plexiglass frames, from which only a very general idea of their original location can sometimes be gained. Many other small fragments were left lying in the leather bindings or in the boxes in which the bindings had been stored. These were not conserved in plexiglass until 1970.

13 What is called codex XIII did not survive into modern times as a complete codex. Rather it consists of 8 leaves that were removed from the middle of a codex and placed inside the binding of codex VI in antiquity. See Robinson (1972a).

14 Krause-Labib (1962, 40).

15 See Krause (1962, 127-129).

16 Labib (1956).

17 This photographic record has proved the value of Labib and Krause's conservation procedure by providing significant clues to the original order of many of the fragments.

Krause and Robinson) was charged with responsibility for carrying out the physical reconstruction of the papyri and guiding further photography for the facsimile edition. In the course of five brief sessions between 1970 and 1973 the technical sub-committee, assisted by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project, tested and improved various hypothetical reconstructions that had been proposed, rearranged those fragments accordingly, and continued to identify and place further fragments.

The Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project continued this work intensively from July 1974 through August 1975. Under the direction of James M. Robinson, Principal American Investigator for the project, Charles W. Hedrick and I de-

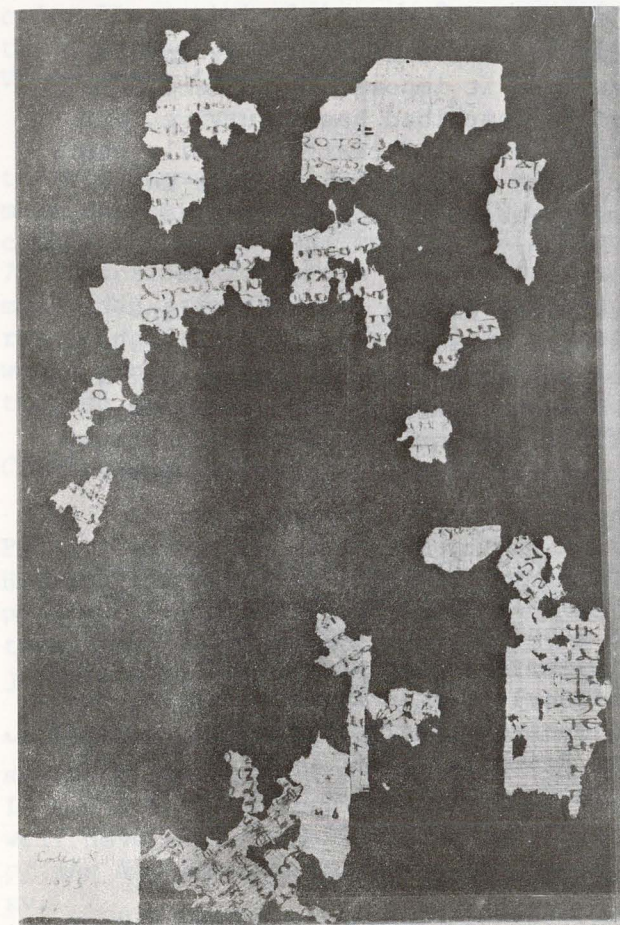


Fig. 3 (at left). This photograph, taken in the mid-sixties, shows 22 papyrus fragments conserved with Nag Hammadi codex VIII. Ten of these fragments have been placed in that codex, one in codex IV, and one in codex XI. Three of the remaining fragments, though as yet unplaced, have been assigned to other codices because the handwriting on them is clearly not the same as that in codex VIII.



Fig. 4 (at right). Charles W. Hedrick at work on reconstructing the papyrus rolls from which Nag Hammadi codex IV was manufactured. This procedure can sometimes provide the decisive criteria for establishing the original sequence of pages in a papyrus codex. It must be used in any case in order to confirm a sequence established by other means.

voted most of our time to the work of reconstruction, while throughout the grant periods many other scholars came from both the United States and Europe to work on the manuscripts according to their interests and as their schedules permitted.<sup>18</sup> By the end of 1974 hundreds of fragments, some no larger than a fingernail, had been placed through the use of advanced papyrological techniques that rely primarily on the unique patterns of the papyrus fibers rather than on the much less certain criteria offered by the text.<sup>19</sup> A detailed investigation of how the codices were originally manufactured has provided criteria for establishing the sequence of pages in a papyrus codex with a high degree of certainty and without heavy reliance on scribal pagination, which in many cases is not extant, or textual continuity, which can hardly be hoped for in the more fragmentary codices.<sup>20</sup> (See fig. 4.) At present the page sequence and original length of each codex is clear with but three exceptions:

(1) The extremely fragmentary condition of codex X, further complicated by a lack of pagination after page 5, has made it impossible to determine the original length of the codex. Fragments of 54 inscribed pages survive, but the codicological relationship of these fragments indicates that originally there must have been at least 68 inscribed pages and quite probably there were more. The sequence of the fragments now identified as pages 13-22 and 55-58 also remains somewhat hypothetical.<sup>21</sup>

(2) Codex XII represents the largest loss within the collection. At present it consists of only 8 leaves and several smaller fragments. Although the leaves lack page numbers they can be put into relative sequence through comparison with other copies of the two known texts in the codex and, to some extent, also on the basis of papyrus fiber continuity. This reconstruction indicates that the codex originally contained at least 71 inscribed pages.<sup>22</sup>

18 The visiting members of the project were G.M. Browne, Anton Fackelmann, Bentley Layton, Dieter Muellert, Birger Pearson, William C. Robinson Jr., John Sieber, Frederik Wisse, and Jan Zandee. Other scholars who visited the project during the grant periods were Søren Giversen (Denmark), Rodolphe Kasser (Switzerland), Klaus Koschorke (Federal Republic of Germany), Martin Krause (Federal Republic of Germany), Jean-Pierre Mahé (France), Manfredo Manfredi (Italy), Jacques-É. Ménard (France), Peter Nagel (German Democratic Republic), Tito Orlandi (Italy), Torgny Sæve-Söderbergh (Sweden), and Hans-Martin Schenke (German Democratic Republic).

19 See Hedrick (1976) and the literature cited there (p. 148 n. 4).

20 See Wisse (1975) and James M. Robinson (1975a), (1975b) and "The Future of Papyrus Codicology," forthcoming in the first volume, on The Future of Coptology, ed. R.McL. Wilson, of a new series of Coptic Studies from Brill (Leiden). Turner (1977) has recently undertaken the important and demanding task of laying the foundations for a codicological typology.

21 A detailed discussion of the considerations that led to the present reconstruction can be found in *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codices IX and X* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) xix-xxiii.

22 The fact that codex XII, in distinction to the rest of the Nag Hammadi codices, has facing pages with the same papyrus fiber direction makes it impos-

Since the few extant leaves are themselves relatively well-preserved, witnessing to a state of preservation that is inconsistent with so great an overall loss, it is likely that this loss, which presumably includes a leather binding, took place only after the discovery in 1945. It is thus to be hoped that the binding and the remainder of the leaves may yet come into scholarly hands, though there is now good reason to believe that at least some of this lost portion of the codex was burnt shortly after the discovery.<sup>23</sup>

(3) As has been noted, codex XIII did not survive into modern times as a complete codex.<sup>24</sup> It is virtually certain that the 8 extant leaves originally lay at the very center of a quire, thus clarifying their relative sequence even though page numbers can only be assigned to them hypothetically. Since the last extant leaf ends with the opening lines of a text preserved completely in codex II, a minimal length for the codex can be estimated at 80 pages. Nevertheless, the 16 surviving pages are presumably all that were interred with codex VI in antiquity.

Appendix III gives the present inventory of pages and fragments of the Nag Hammadi codices. About 93% of the 1240 inscribed pages that originally made up the collection are represented by at least a fragment. (If one discounts the major loss in codex XII alone this figure rises to 97%.) Of the 714 inscribed fragments that remain unplaced less than a hundred preserve any more than a few letters of inscription. There is little doubt that many of the remaining fragments can still be placed, but now the time and effort required would probably be disproportionately great compared to the amount of information so gained.

#### Conservation

Concurrently with the reconstruction of the manuscripts the Editing Project undertook to conserve the collection for the Coptic Museum.<sup>25</sup> Peggy S. Hedrick and Anita W. Robinson, conservators for the project, faced a major problem from the outset. The antiquities dealers from whom the papyri were obtained had used transparent cellulose adhesive tape, generously and none too judiciously, to hold some of the fragments together, often incorrectly. In the

sible to determine the center of the quire in its present state of preservation. It may even have consisted of more than one quire. In any case codex XII may well have contained far more than 71 pages. See further *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codices XI, XII and XIII* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) xiii-xv.

23 The story reported by Doresse that after the discovery of the codices "the peasants had burnt some of them to brew their tea" (Doresse [1960, 118]) has been confirmed and clarified by an eye-witness interviewed in the Nag Hammadi region by James M. Robinson.

24 See note 13 above.

25 For advice on the work of conservation we are especially indebted to Messrs. Baines-Cope (London), Stanley Baker (London), John Barns† (Oxford), Walter Cockle (London), and Anton Fackelmann (Vienna), who also joined the project in Cairo briefly in 1974.



Fig. 5. Anita W. Robinson carefully removing the old cellulose adhesive tape used by antiquities dealers to hold fragments of papyrus together. Once this delicate and difficult task was accomplished the fragments were rejoined with tiny pieces of paper tape (cf. fig. 8).

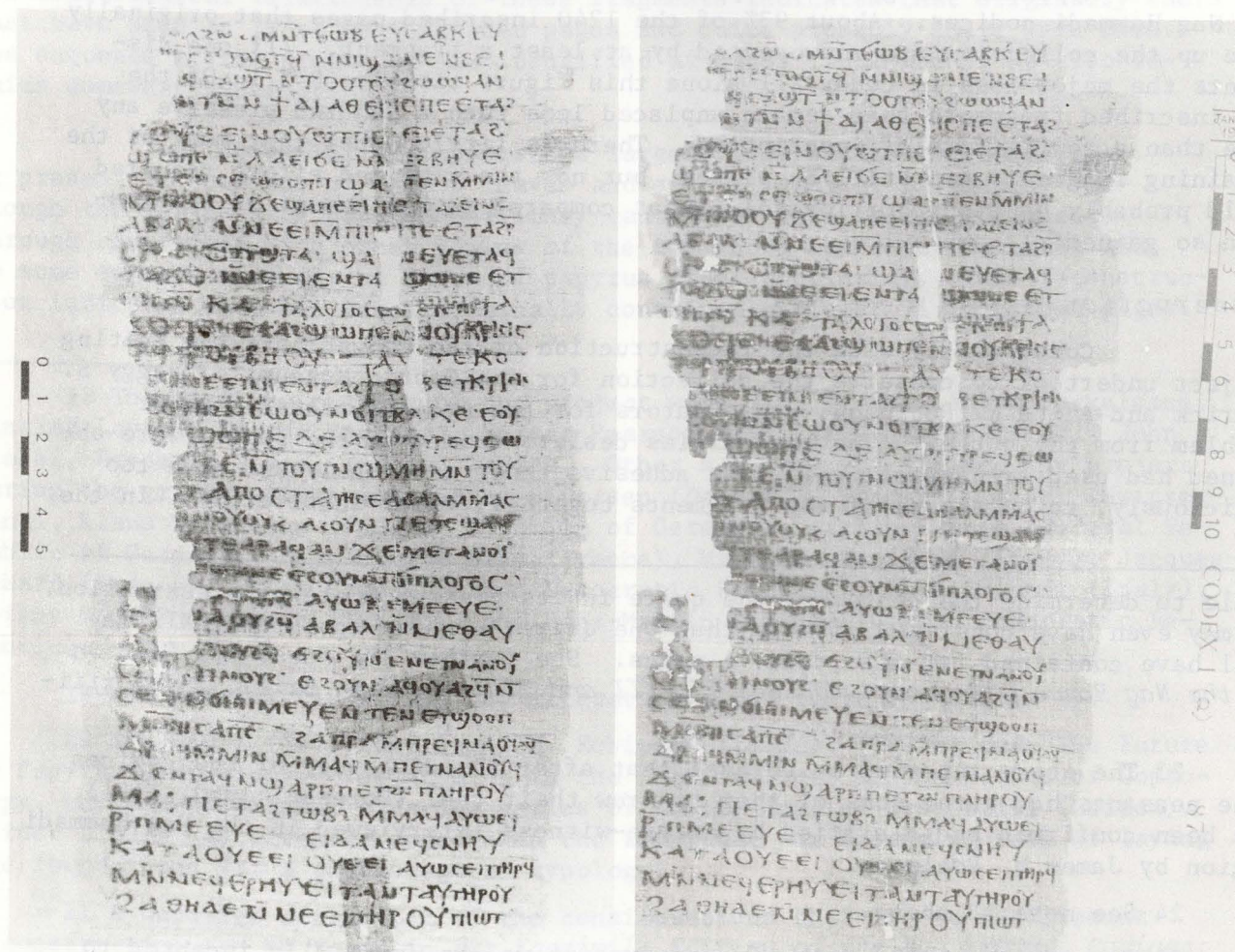


Fig. 6-7. NHC I 81 before and after removal of old cellulose adhesive tape. Note that the removal of the uppermost strip of tape permitted the addition of a fragment at 81,5-7.

course of more than twenty years this tape discolored and began to stain the papyrus, obscuring portions of the text. In a few cases the adhesive had also begun to ooze out from beneath the cellulose backing, sticking the papyrus to the insides of the plexiglass. In order to open these the conservators had to brush acetone on the outsides of the plexiglass, which is slightly porous, so that the fumes would penetrate and dissolve the adhesive on the insides.

To remove the adhesive tape itself two other chemicals were used, first trichlorethylene as a solvent and then xylene to neutralize the remaining adhesive substance. When necessary, industrial methylated spirits was used to wash out the other chemicals.<sup>26</sup> The eminently satisfactory outcome of this troublesome task has left the papyri almost entirely free of unnatural vitiating forces and has improved their aesthetic appearance. (See fig. 5-7.) In addition, the removal of the tape not only enabled us to realign many fragments properly but also drew our attention to a number of small fragments that had been pulled out of their correct positions by tape on a facing page, thus permitting us to put them back where they belong.<sup>27</sup>

To hold fragments together in their proper relationships we used the brown paper packing tape with a water-soluble glue that has been in use at the British Museum since the early years of papyrology. This tape, cut very small (on the order of millimeters) and applied under magnification with a fine brush, can be practically invisible against the papyrus. If necessary it can be removed easily with a bit of water. (See fig. 8.) When two fragments do not physically connect, this tape can be used to bridge the gap or to make a firm island to which the fragments can be attached. Thus the fragments of even the most deteriorated leaf can be secured in their proper relative positions without recourse to attaching them permanently to any kind of backing. (See fig. 9.)

For the final conservation we preferred to place the papyri between panes of glass. The plexiglass in which they were conserved in the early sixties had become very scratched with long use and were not of a uniform size. Furthermore, during the first conservation each papyrus sheet, which forms two leaves (four pages) of a codex when folded at the middle, had been cut in half at the spine, if they were not already broken there, and the leaves were conserved individually. We decided to reunite such conjugate leaves and to conserve the co-

26 In a few places tape was cleaned around the edges but left in place because the papyrus it covers is too fragile to permit successful removal. Tape had to remain in a few other places as well because the adhesive involved did not react effectively to the chemicals. Although there is some disagreement among conservators as to the best chemicals to use in this kind of work (and it may depend on the kind of adhesive to be dissolved) none of those used by us are considered harmful to papyrus.

27 Although it was inevitable that removing the tape at times also meant removing some surface papyrus and ink, this consideration was outweighed by the more deleterious effects of leaving the tape in place. Passages that were damaged in the process of removing the tape are included in my collation of exclusively photographic evidence for the texts, which has begun to appear with Emmel (1977b).

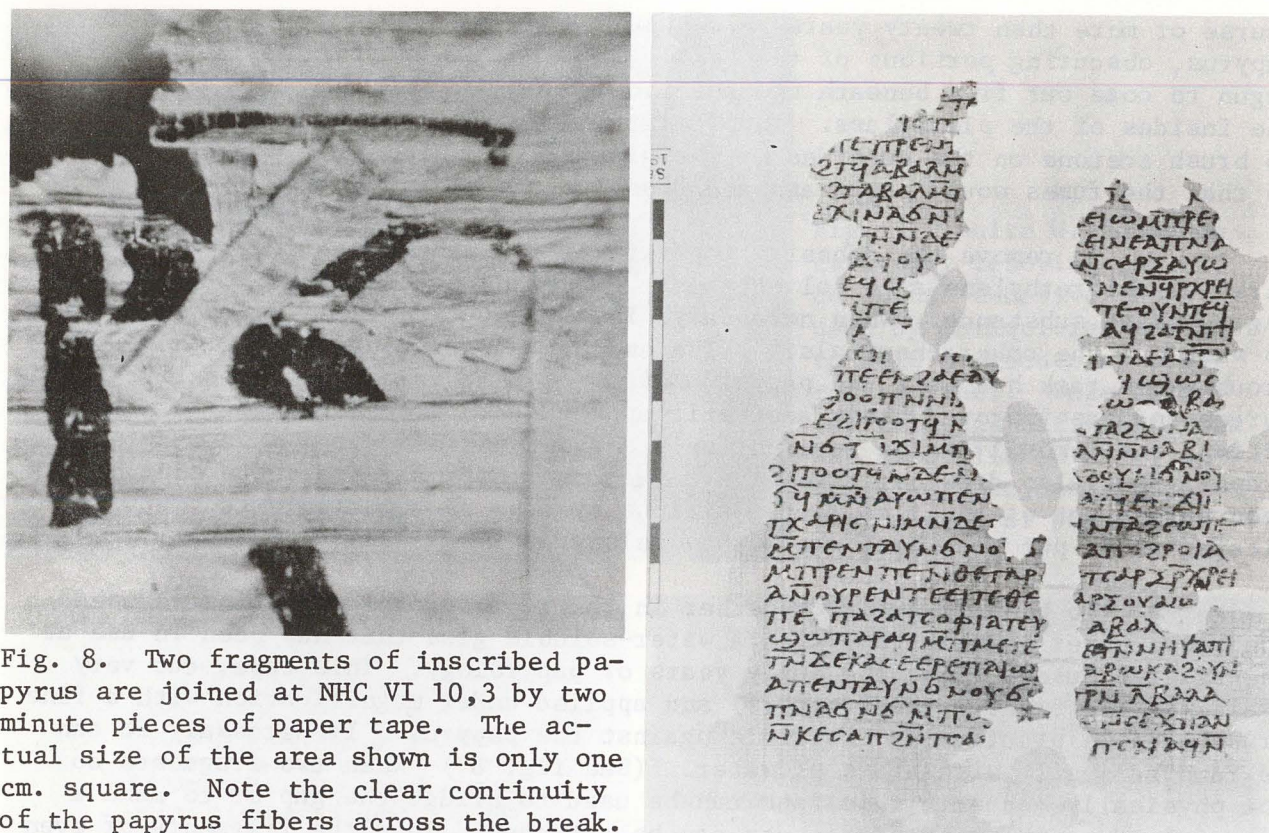


Fig. 8. Two fragments of inscribed papyrus are joined at NHC VI 10,3 by two minute pieces of paper tape. The actual size of the area shown is only one cm. square. Note the clear continuity of the papyrus fibers across the break.

Fig. 9. NHC XI 12 has been reconstructed from three large, two small, and one very small fragments on the basis of vertical (on the recto, p. 11) and horizontal papyrus fiber continuity as well as on the basis of the contours of deterioration of preceding and succeeding leaves. The stiff paper islands serve to hold the fragments in their correct relative positions without necessitating their attachment to any sort of backing.

dices sheet by sheet. Since all of the Nag Hammadi codices except codex I consist of a single quire this method of conservation preserves the aspect of the codex and is therefore of considerable advantage to further work on placing fragments and to codicological study.<sup>28</sup>

The Egyptian Antiquities Organization approved our proposed conservation format but requested that plexiglass be used instead of glass. Accordingly, we imported a sufficient quantity of plexiglass panes (37x32 cm. and 3 mm. thick) from Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States and transferred the reconstructed papyrus leaves to them.<sup>29</sup> Each sheet is positioned

28 Since codex I is more like three single-quire codices bound into a single cover than it is like the usual multi-quired codices, conserving it in the same format as the rest of the collection is not overly disruptive of its original structure.

29 Very special thanks must be given to Carol Crochet who volunteered her careful and conscientious assistance in this work in January and June-

such that when the frames containing a codex are stacked neatly on top of each other the relative alignment of the sheets recreates the quire as if it were opened at the center.<sup>30</sup> Since the brown tape used on the papyrus does not adhere to plexiglass the sheets are attached to one pane of each frame with a minimal number of small pieces of *filmoplast P*, a translucent adhesive paper developed specifically for repairing old books, particularly of paper and parchment.<sup>31</sup> The edges of the plexiglass frames are also sealed with this tape and each frame is labelled with the relevant codex, page and Coptic Museum inventory numbers.

The leather bindings in which the codices were encased are similarly conserved in shallow plexiglass boxes. The unplaced fragments are conserved with the codices to which they have been assigned. The scraps of Greek and Coptic papyri (cartonnage) removed from the leather bindings of codices IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and XI are conserved and stored as a unit, together with the miscellaneous fragments, rather than with the codices from which they were removed. The binding of codex I, with its cartonnage, is kept at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, which purchased it, with the approval of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, from a European owner. The whereabouts of whatever cartonnage may have been removed from the bindings of codices II, III and X is not known.

At the end of 1974 we designed two storage cabinets for the papyri. The Cabinets were constructed by Design Center Cairo (14 Adli Street, Cairo). Each cabinet contains two cupboards, each designed to hold three portable wooden

August 1975 and again in January 1976. We were also assisted briefly by Katrinka Sieber, Juin Foresman, Anne Jackson, Ted Worth, Connie Mallard, R. Scott Birdsell, Michael Bryan Fiske, James Goehring, and Marvin W. Meyer. With regard to one of the major objections to the use of plexiglass for the conservation of papyrus it should be noted that a static charge can be removed easily with readily available anti-static fluids. The question of possible chemical interaction between plexiglass and papyrus cannot be answered decisively; perhaps only time will tell. Suffice it to report that the Nag Hammadi papyri have been in plexiglass frames for nearly two decades now without noticeable alteration on that account.

30 In the case of codex XIII, on which see note 13 above, the leaves are aligned such that the contours of deterioration of leaf 49/50 match those of codex VI leaf 1/2.

31 This material, manufactured by Hans Neschen (D-4967 Bückeburg, POB 1340, Federal Republic of Germany), is advertised as "absolutely neutral: non acidic, non conductive, no wood-aliment, free of plasticizer, non yellowing, no discoloring." See Burlage (1966) and, for a scientific test report on longevity made in the Danish Nuclear Center with documents from the Copenhagen State Archive, Skall (1974), who reports that the adhesive used for *filmoplast P* is a polyacrylate (p. 38). *Filmoplast P* fared well in these tests. However, *filmoplast P* is too thin to provide much structural support unless it is used in large pieces. Since it is most desirable not to cover inscription with any adhesive material, we used *filmoplast P* to mend the papyrus only when there was no alternative to placing the tape over a bit of ink. In these few cases we still used the smallest pieces possible.

boxes. Inside each box are two rows of seven shelves on which the plexiglass frames are stored, three per shelf. Each frame is kept in a strong plastic bag for protection against scratching. The contents of each box correspond to one volume of the ARE-UNESCO facsimile edition and the shelves are labelled in detail to facilitate access to any particular page. Mounted on each storage cabinet is a glass-topped display area. At present the cabinets are kept in the manuscript wing of the Coptic Museum library in the care of Mrs. Samiha Abd El-Shaheed, the Curator of Manuscripts. (See fig. 10.)

#### *Publication and beyond*

The main work of the Nag Hammadi Codices Editing Project is being published in two series of volumes. The first volume of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*<sup>32</sup> appeared in 1972. The twelfth and final volume will be printed in 1979. This complete photographic edition of the collection documents the reconstruction of the manuscripts as of the beginning of 1978.<sup>33</sup> The rapidity with which these volumes have continued to appear since 1974 is due in large part to the support of the Smithsonian Institution and the American Research Center in Egypt. The Editing Project has also provided members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project with repeated opportunities to check their editions against the manuscripts themselves. The unchallenged value of autoptic examination of ancient texts has been enhanced in the case of the Nag Hammadi codices by the discovery that deteriorated passages often become quite legible when viewed under ultraviolet light. The first volume of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project's critical editions and English translations appeared in 1975,<sup>34</sup> a second volume is presently in the press, and it is expected that the remaining volumes will appear soon now that the reconstruction of the manuscripts has been completed.

The project has also given birth to two important offspring. First, several forays by members of the project to the reputed site of the discovery of the manuscripts near Nag Hammadi has led to three seasons of archeological survey and excavation in the area under the auspices of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity.<sup>35</sup> Second, the continued presence in Egypt of members of the Editing Project made possible the highly successful International Congress of Coptology, sponsored jointly by the UNESCO and the Egyptian Antiquities Organization in Cairo, December 9-17, 1976, which led in turn to the founding

32 Published under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt in conjunction with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Leiden: Brill, 1972 and following).

33 Users of *The Facsimile Edition* should not overlook the additions and corrections that will appear in the introductory volume in 1979.

34 Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse, *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians* (Nag Hammadi Studies 4) (Leiden: Brill, 1975). All of these editions are scheduled to appear in Brill's series *Nag Hammadi Studies*. An advance publication of translations of all of the texts is now available in James M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (San Francisco: Harper and Row; Leiden: Brill, 1977).

35 See note 2 above and Van Elderen-Robinson (1977).



Fig. 10. Mrs. Samiha Abd El-Shaheed, Curator of Manuscripts for the Coptic Museum, with the Nag Hammadi codices in the manuscript wing of the library.

of an International Association for Coptic Studies.<sup>36</sup>

Of course none of it would have been possible without the generous cooperation of our Egyptian hosts. For their hospitality and assistance of every sort we are especially indebted to Dr. Gamal Mokhtar, President Emeritus of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, Dr. Pahor Labib, Director Emeritus of the Coptic Museum, Dr. Victor Girgis, Director General of Egyptian Museums, Dr. Mounir Basta, Director of the Coptic Museum, and Mrs. Samiha Abd El-Shaheed and the other members of the staff at the Coptic Museum.

36 See James M. Robinson, "The First International Congress of Coptology," scheduled to appear in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 23 (1976-1977), and the *Newsletter of the International Association for Coptic Studies* 1 (1977). Inquiries should be addressed to Prof. Tito Orlandi, v.F. Civinini, 24-00197 Rome, Italy.

# APPENDIX I

## Table of Texts in the Nag Hammadi Codices

codex, text, page and line numbers	title <sup>1</sup>	other versions <sup>2</sup>
I 1: A,36 up-B,1 up	<i>Prayer of the Apostle Paul</i>	
2: 1,1-16,30	<i>The Apocryphon of James</i>	
3: 16,31-43,24	<i>The Gospel of Truth</i>	NHC XII 2
4: 43,25-50,18	<i>The Treatise on the Resurrection</i>	
5: 51,1-138,extant 26	<i>The Tripartite Tractate</i>	

<sup>1</sup> Titles in italic type are preserved as such in the manuscripts. Titles in regular type are modern designations. These have been drawn either from the content of the text (NHC I 2, I 5, II 5, VI 6, IX 2, IX 3, XI 2) or from the opening words of the text (NHC I 3) or from the title given to another version of the text (NHC IV 2, V 1, VI 5, VI 7, VI 8, XII 1, XII 2, XIII 2).

### 2 Abbreviations:

Asc. = Asclepius; see A.D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, *Hermès Trismégiste: Corpus Hermeticum 2: Traités XIII-XVIII, Asclépius*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1960) 257-401, esp. pp. 321-337 (= NHC VI 8), 353-355 (= NHC VI 7; cf. J.-P. Mahé, "La prière d'actions de grâces du codex VI de Nag-Hammadi et le discours parfait" in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 13 [1974] 40-60); Latin, Greek. These, together with the Coptic versions, will appear in convenient synopsis in Douglas M. Parrott, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4* (Nag Hammadi Studies 11) (Leiden: Brill, in press).

BM = British Museum (now the British Library); for Or. 4926(1) see Christian Oeyen, "Fragmente einer subachmimischen Version der gnostischen 'Schrift ohne Titel'" in Krause, ed. (1975, 125-144); for Or. 6003 see Wolf-Peter Funk, "Ein doppelt überliefertes Stück spätägyptischer Weisheit" in *Zeitschrift für die ägyptische Sprache* 103 (1976) 8-21; Coptic and Arabic (and a late Latin version of the latter).

BP = Berlin Papyrus; for 8502 see Walter C. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502* (Texte und Untersuchungen 60), 2nd ed. revised by Hans-Martin Schenke (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1972); Coptic.

Chad. = Henry Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus: A Contribution to the History of Early Christian Ethics* (Texts and Studies 5) (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1959), which provides information on the other versions of this text; Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian.

NHC = Nag Hammadi codex.

P.Oxy. = Oxyrhynchus Papyrus; for 1, 654 and 655 see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas" in his *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Sources for

II 1: 1,1-32,9	<i>The Secret Book According to John</i>	NHC III 1 NHC IV 1 BP 8502 2
2: 32,10-51,28	<i>The Gospel According to Thomas</i>	P.Oxy. 654 P.Oxy. 655 P.Oxy. 1
3: 51,29-86,19	<i>The Gospel According to Philip</i>	
4: 86,20-97,23	<i>The Reality of the Rulers</i>	
5: 97,24-127,17	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	NHC XIII 2 BM Or. 4926(1)
6: 127,18-137,27	<i>The Expository Treatise Concerning the Soul</i>	
7: 138,1-145,23	<i>The Book of Thomas (the contender writing to the perfect ones)</i>	
III 1: 1,1-40,11	<i>The Secret Book of John</i>	NHC II 1 NHC IV 1 BP 8502 2
2: 40,12-69,20	<i>The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit (less properly called The Gospel of the Egyptians)</i>	NHC IV 2
3: 70,1-90,13	<i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i>	NHC V 1
4: 90,14-119,18	<i>The Wisdom of Jesus</i>	BP 8502 3 P.Oxy. 1081
5: 120,1-147,1 up	<i>The Dialogue of the Savior</i>	
IV 1: 1,1-49,28	<i>The Secret Book According to John</i>	NHC II 1 NHC III 1 BP 8502 2
2: 50,1-81,2	<i>The Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	NHC III 2
V 1: 1,1-17,extant 18	<i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i>	NHC III 3
2: 17,extant 19-24,9	<i>The Revelation of Paul</i>	
3: 24,10-44,extant 7	<i>The (first) Revelation of James</i>	
4: 44,extant 8-63,32	<i>The (second) Revelation of James</i>	
5: 64,1-85,32	<i>The Revelation of Adam</i>	
VI 1: 1,1-12,22	<i>The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles</i>	

Biblical Study 5) (Missoula: Scholars' Press, 1974) 355-433, a revised version of his article of the same title in *Theological Studies* 20 (1959) 505-560, and M. Marcovich, "Textual Criticism on the Gospel of Thomas" in *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 20 (1969) 53-74; for 1081 see Harold W. Attridge, "P. Oxy. 1081 and the Sophia Jesu Christi" in *Enchoria* 5 (1975) 1-8; Greek.

2: 13,1-21,1 up	<i>The Thunder, Perfect Mind</i>	
3: 22,31 up-35,24	<i>Authoritative Teaching</i>	
4: 36,1-48,15	<i>Mental Perception, the Concept of Our Great Power</i>	
5: 48,16-51,1 up	Republic IX 588b-589b	Plato, <i>Republic</i> 588b-589b
6: 52,1-63,32	The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth	
7: 63,33-65,7	<i>This Is the Prayer They Spoke</i> (also called <i>The Prayer of Thanksgiving</i> )	Asc. 41
8: 65,15-78,1 up	Asclepius 21-29 <sup>3</sup>	Asc. 21-29
VII 1: 1,1-49,9	<i>The Paraphrase of Sēm</i>	
2: 49,10-70,12	<i>The Second Treatise of the Great Seth</i>	
3: 70,13-84,14	<i>The Revelation of Peter</i>	
4: 84,15-118,7	<i>The Teachings of Silvanus</i>	BM Or. 6003
5: 118,10-127,1 up	<i>The Three Stelae of Seth</i>	
VIII 1: 1,1-132,6	<i>Zostrianos</i>	
2: 132,10-140,26	<i>The Letter of Peter, Which He Sent to Philip</i>	
IX 1: 1,1-27,10	<i>Melchizedek</i>	
2: 27,11-29,5	<i>The Thought of Norea</i>	
3: 29,6-74,1 up	<i>The Testimony of Truth</i>	
X 1: 1,extant 1-68,18	<i>Marsanes</i>	
XI 1: 1,27 up-21,1 up	<i>The Interpretation of Knowledge</i>	
2: 22,extant 1-44,1 up	<i>A Valentinian Exposition</i>	
3: 45,33 up-69,extant 6	<i>Allogenes (or The Stranger)</i>	
4: 69,extant 7-72,extant 17	<i>Hypsiphronē (or She of High Mind)</i>	
XII 1: 15,1-34,1 up	<i>The Sentences of Sextus</i>	Chad.
2: 53,11 up-60,1 up	<i>The Gospel of Truth</i>	NHC I 3
XIII 1: 35,1-50,11 up	<i>Trimorphic Primal Thought (in 3 parts)</i>	
2: 50,10 up-50,1 up	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	NHC II 5 BM Or. 4926(1)

3 Krause-Labib (1962, 26) suggested that this text was originally headed by a title but that this had been erased and replaced by the scribal note at 65,8-14. No such erasure is detectable, however, even under ultraviolet light.

## APPENDIX II

### The Scribes Who Copied the Nag Hammadi Codices

None of the Nag Hammadi codices appear to contain the first Coptic copy of a text. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that what we have is a compilation of later copies. As many as fourteen different scribes may have been employed in making these copies. They are listed here in the order of their appearance with the Coptic dialect in which they worked given in parentheses.<sup>1</sup>

1. I 1-3 (Subachmimic), 5 (crypto-Sahidic?)
2. I 4, XI 1-2 (Subachmimic)
3. II 1, 2 (except 47,1-8), 3-7 (Sahidic)
4. II 2, 47,1-8 (Sahidic)
5. III 1-5 (Sahidic)<sup>2</sup>
6. IV 1-2 (Sahidic)
7. V 1-5 (Sahidic)
8. VI 1-8 (Sahidic)
9. VII 1-5, XI 3-4 (Sahidic)
10. VIII 1-2 (Sahidic)
11. IX 1-3 (Sahidic)
12. X 1 (Subachmimic)
13. XII 1-2 (Sahidic)
14. XIII 1-2 (Sahidic)

Note that several of the fourteen scribes can be judged more or less certainly to have been closely related in time and space in that their work overlaps in several codices: scribes 1, 2 and 9; scribes 3 and 4. But fourteen scribes may well be too conservative a figure; there may have been as few as eight. Scribe 3 is probably to be identified with scribe 14. In codex XIII he used a quicker, more cursive hand. (Compare also the still more cursive super-

1 For a summary statement concerning our present knowledge of the (seven) major Coptic dialects see Layton (1976b, esp. § 2.a.i.). By and large the "Sahidic" texts from Nag Hammadi appear to have been translated by native speakers of a dialect other than Sahidic. Most display features of "crypto-Subachmimic" (the term has been introduced by Layton [1977, 66]), while a few display interesting isoglosses with Bohairic and Fayyumic. (See further Nagel [1969b, esp. pp. 467-469], [1972], and Layton [1974, 374-383].)

2 Scribe 5 has left two fingerprints for posterity, one at NHC III 68,11-12 and the other at 120,23-24. Both are only clearly visible under ultraviolet light.

linear insertion in codex II at 12,18.)<sup>3</sup> The hand of scribe 4 is remarkably similar to that of scribe 13, but the surviving work of the former is too little (only eight lines of text) to permit a certain identification. Scribes 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11 all have similar hands and have often been identified as a single scribe.<sup>4</sup> However, the similarities may be due rather to the influence of a single scribal school. According to the report of Robinson (1975b, 18), Manfredo Manfredi of the G. Vitelli Papyrological Institute (Florence, Italy) judged only scribes 8, 10 and to a lesser extent 6 to be really similar in this group, scribes 7 and 11 being clearly distinct.<sup>5</sup>

For further considerations bearing on the unity of the Nag Hammadi codices in antiquity see Robinson (1975b, 16-19), (1977b, 14-15).

3 This identification was first made by Krause-Labib (1962, 297 addition to p. 13). Although Krause later retracted the identification (Krause [1963, 111 n. 2]), it has recently won strong endorsement from Layton (1976a, 84). I concur in this latter judgement and should add that a comparison of the use and shapes of the articulation mark in codex II (on which see Layton [1973, 190-199], noting, however, that his remarks refer only to the fourth tractate in codex II) and codex XIII further confirms the identification. Among the Nag Hammadi codices, II and XIII are unique in this respect. (See further the brief comments of Frederik Wisse in *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* 92 [1972] 189, who bases them on an examination of all of codex II as well as the remainder of the codices.) Janssens (1974, 341-342) uses this identification as a basis for some interesting speculation concerning the original contents of codex XIII. It should be pointed out, however, that her contention that codex II and codex XIII are also similar in that they, in distinction to the rest of the codices, do not contain numbered pages is unfounded. While the pages of codex II were certainly left by the scribe without numbers, the top margins of the pages remaining from codex XIII are too deteriorated for us to determine whether they ever held page numbers or not.

4 This identification was first made by Doriesse (1961, 30 and 34-39) and was accepted by Krause (1963, 110-111).

5 The further identification of scribe 1 with scribe 12 (Doriesse [1961, 31 and 45-46], followed by Krause [1963, 111]) is not generally accepted.

APPENDIX III

Inventory of Pages and Fragments of the Nag Hammadi Codices

codex	Coptic Museum inventory number	original number of inscribed pages <sup>1</sup>	extant identified inscribed pages <sup>2</sup>	unplaced inscribed fragments
I	10554, 10589, 10590, 11597, 11640	140	140	68
II	10544	145	145	1
III	4851	147	135	8
IV	10552	18	18	11
V	10548	84	84	80
VI	10549	78	78	17
VII	10546	127	127	-
VIII	10550	136	132	119
IX	10553	75	72	86
X	10551	68	54	103
XI	10547	72	72	38
XII	10555	71	20	5
XIII	10545	16	16	4
miscellaneous fragments <sup>3</sup>				75
totals		1240	1156	714

1 When these figures involve estimation they are minimal and conservative. Only that part of codex XIII buried with codex VI in antiquity is counted.

2 Since unplaced fragments 1 and 2 of codex XII do not belong to any of the identified pages of that codex they are counted here as identified, even though their exact position in the codex cannot be determined. In some cases a leaf is represented by a single small fragment. The amount of missing text is thus greater than the number of entirely missing leaves can indicate.

3 These are fragments that were not at first conserved with a particular codex and which cannot readily be assigned to one on the basis of the scribal hands.

1963 "Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund bei Nag Hammadi. I. Mittelungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 18, 121-132.  
1962 "Der koptische Handschriftenfund bei Nag Hammadi: Umfang und Inhalt."  
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#### PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS

Fig. 1: James M. Robinson. Fig. 2: Jean Doresse. Fig. 3: Center of Documentation in Cairo. Fig. 4: Peggy S. Hedrick. Fig. 5: Stephen Emmel. Fig. 6: Basile Psiroukis. Fig. 7: Basile Psiroukis. Fig. 8: Stephen Emmel. Fig. 9: Basile Psiroukis. Fig. 10: Douglas Kuylenstierna.

#### FROM MAWLA TO MAMLUK: THE ORIGINS OF ISLAMIC MILITARY SLAVERY

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Military slavery, the systematic preparation and employment of slaves as soldiers, existed throughout the entire Islamic world, from Bengal to Spain, from the 8th to the 19th centuries --- and almost nowhere else. This unique form of slavery poses precisely a question I wish to consider: how does an aspect of life far removed from religion, in this case military organization, exist only in conjunction with Islam, a religion? What possible connection can there be between a religion and a method of military recruitment?

Military slavery serves as a useful vehicle to ask some basic questions about the nature of Islamic civilization. While many have observed that Muslims share far more than their religious convictions, no one has tried to demonstrate the connection or to explain it. The Islamic impact has been widely guessed at but not seriously analysed. My long-range goal is to work on this connection; both personal experience and my studies in Islamic civilization have convinced me that Islam had a profound impact on virtually all aspects of a Muslim's life.

Yet, before I can hope to entertain this question, much preliminary work must be covered. Such is the state of Islamic historical studies that detailed research must precede any analysis. Therefore, in preparation for the eventual goal of making a statement about Islamic civilization, my thesis deals with the origins of military slavery during the first two Islamic centuries; when did it come into being and how did it develop? The dissertation has two parts, one to introduce and explain military slavery in general, a second to trace its beginnings.

#### The Concept

In my usage, "military slave" does not refer to just any slave who happens to fight in battle, but only to one trained in warfare and serving as a professional soldier. Though the slave status of these soldiers is open to question (and even incredulity), I attempt to show that they were true slaves so long as they remained under their master's control. Often they escaped that control; then they were slaves no longer except in name.

## The Islamic Occurrence of Military Slavery

Why did this system exist only among Muslims? An answer lies in understanding its rationale; military slavery was not an eccentricity but an advantageous method of recruiting and controlling soldiers. Given the unique circumstances of Muslim rulers, it served better than any alternative.

What were these unique circumstances? In general, Muslims tended not to get involved in local political affairs. Consequently, their rulers ordinarily could not draw on indigenous peoples for military or political support and had to turn elsewhere for manpower. For the army, they recruited men from marginal areas --- steppes, deserts, and mountains. Though remarkably capable soldiers, these men retained their military abilities or their political dependability for only one or two generations (cf. Ibn Khaldun's theories). This is crucial: the descendents of soldiers from marginal areas did not continue to supply the rulers with sufficient military manpower. As a result, Muslim rulers had constantly to search for new soldiers; almost all the new soldiers came from marginal areas.

In recruiting soldiers from marginal areas, the Muslim rulers needed a mechanism to recruit and to control them. Military slavery answered both these needs; it served as a way to acquire soldiers systematically from remote areas and it then bound them to the government. The apparently mysterious use of slaves in Islamic armies makes sense when one recognizes its advantages in recruiting and controlling soldiers.

Military slavery occurred only in the Islamic world because only Muslims depended heavily on soldiers from marginal areas.

The second part of the thesis applies this understanding of military slavery to the question of its origins.

### Mawlas

The term "mawla" presents a preliminary problem. It had three social usages during the first two centuries of Islam: a manumitted slave, a non-Arabian Muslim, or a political supporter or the Abbasids. Despite their appearing totally different, all three types of mawlas usually went through a period of being unfree. As such, they come under consideration in this study.

### Slaves in Early Islamic Warfare

Slaves fought with their masters even during Muhammad's lifetime and the Ridda Wars (624-34). The ideal of religious equality and the scarcity of manpower combined to give slaves an important military role in the nascent Islamic community.

Their importance in warfare declined precipitously during the great conquests and the next decade (634-84). With much of Arabia supplying soldiers, the Muslims no longer needed slaves to fight. Until 684, Arabians maintained a near-hegemony over all aspects of public life and especially the army. Slaves did not participate as full-fledged Muslim soldiers (except those who had converted before the conquests).

Like all soldiers from marginal areas, the Arabians became unreliable after two generations or so, in the 680's. Yet, they maintained a hold over the army and government for another sixty-five years (684-750); in large part, they achieved this by exercising strict control over non-Arabian Muslims (mawlas) who joined the army or government, even those of free origins. They required a non-Arabian Muslim who wished to join the ruling elite to give up all his other interests and subsume himself to an Arabian patron. Contrary to accepted belief, both the Umayyads and their rivals received mawla assistance on these terms; unfree soldiers fought for every Islamic army before 750.

When the Abbasids came to power in 750, they allowed non-Arabians to join the army as full-fledged soldiers; with this, they transformed the structure of Islamic society. The non-Arabian Muslims no longer had to serve Arabians. Slaves continued to fight with their masters and for the government in large numbers.

Two generations after the Abbasid takeover, in the 810's, the marginal area soldiers who had brought the Abbasids to power in their turn became unreliable. The caliph, al-Ma'mun, and his brother, al-Mu'tasim, purchased large numbers of slaves for the Abbasid army. Though slaves had already fought for two centuries, only in 815-20 did the Muslim rulers make systematic efforts to collect and control them.

### The Emergence of Military Slavery

Military slavery appeared ca. 815-820 as a consequence of developments in Islamic society. Most importantly, its roots lay in the use of mawlas in the Arabian period. The servile condition of mawlas in military service foreshadowed the later control over military slaves, even though the mawlas were neither acquired systematically nor serving professionally. The key point in common was that both mawlas in service and military slaves were unfree outsiders made to serve the ruling elite. In this lay the essence of military slavery.

مرکز البحوث الإسلامية بمصر

# CHANGE IN THE ARABIC MUSIC TRADITION OF CAIRO: 1932-1977

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## INTRODUCTION

The research project which I have undertaken aims at examining the phenomenon of change in Cairo's Arabic music tradition within a period of approximately forty-five years, 1932-1977. My primary goal is to assess and explain the kinds, mechanisms, functions, and causes of change in this tradition, ultimately arriving at a dynamic model which can provide an understanding of music change in other contexts.

The fieldwork and archival research necessary for this project were conducted in Cairo within a period of approximately one year (Dec. 1976 - Jan. 1978). What follows are some of the results of preliminary analyses of the data collected.

## ARABIC MUSIC: DEFINITION

A tentative definition of Arabic music --- the main unit of observation and analysis --- was used as a point of departure in the initial phase of research. Subsequent investigation has shown that, as has been assumed, most Cairo musicians and audiences identify Arabic music as a distinct category, label it with the term al-musika al-'arabiya<sup>1</sup> and characterize it as possessing the following components:

### a. Music Organizational Principles

These involve principles for the organization of pitch (makam), time (ikaa') and form (vocal forms: muwashah, dawr, kasida, taktuka, layali and mawwal; instrumental forms: longa, bashraf, sama'i, tahmila and takseem).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In Egypt, the label al-musika al-'arabiya (literally, Arabic music) designates the category of music dealt with here as well as any music composed and performed in Arabic speaking countries provided that it does not adhere to western stylistic characteristics.

<sup>2</sup>It is beyond the scope of this report to present definitions of these enumerated organizational principles. These will be included in my doctoral dissertation.

### b. Historical Period

The majority of the Arabic music repertoire was composed and premiered before ca. 1940. Thus, this category of music is often designated turath (literally, heritage). However, some contemporary works which adhere to the music organizational principles listed above are also included in this category of music. Consequently, the time element, although important, is not sufficient as a defining criterion.

### c. Musical Instruments and Performance Groups

Both traditional and western instruments are used for the performance of Arabic music (respectively: 'ud, kanun, nai, tabla, rik and violin, cello, double bass). Performance groups include a wide range of types among which the most important are:<sup>3</sup>

(i) al-takht: a small instrumental ensemble (includes a kanun, 'ud, nai, violin, ri') primarily oriented toward the accompaniment of solo singers (mutribin).

(ii) al-firka: a large ensemble of instrumentalists ('azifin) and vocalists (munshidin) lead by a conductor (ka'id). The instrumental section is made up of an expanded takht (includes: 2 kanun, 2 'ud, 2 nai, 12 violins, 1 ri') and newly added instruments (2 celli, 1 double bass, 1 tabla). The vocal section consists of twelve male and twelve female vocalists. The solo singer (mutrib), whose role is fundamental in the takht, is usually eliminated from firka performances.

### d. Musical Style

Instrumental and vocal style are characterized by a great deal of freedom for solo performers who manipulate compositions by adding: ornaments (zakhirif), cadential formulae (kaflat), and transitional pitches ('urab). In addition, vocal and instrumental qualities are distinctive features of style. Musicians' and audiences' verbalizations regarding those qualities are generally expressed in terms of intersense modalities. For example, voices are described as being: golden, silver, white, warm, etc.

<sup>3</sup>A typology of performance groups will be proposed in the dissertation. All types will be described and analyzed in detail.

<sup>4</sup>The characteristics of these types will be described in detail within the dissertation.

# CHANGE: LOCAL CONCERNS AND CONCEPTS

Local concerns and concepts of change have been used as important criteria for the understanding and evaluation of this phenomenon. Preliminary analysis indicates that change in Arabic music has been of concern to Egyptian musicians, music theoreticians, historians, and educators since the 1930's. This is illustrated by the importance given to the discussion of this issue in the two international conferences on Arabic music held in Cairo in 1932 and 1969 and in an Egyptian conference dealing with the present state of the arts (including music) held in Cairo in 1977.

In general, discussions of change are dominated by two concepts: tajdid and tatawur. Tajdid (literally, innovation) refers to changes introduced in much of Arabic music composed between 1930 and 1945. These involved the introduction of the following western elements: dance meters (waltz and rumba), musical instruments (celli, flutes, clarinettes, etc.) and harmony. The Egyptian composer, Abdel Wahab, was the protagonist of the tajdid movement which appealed to some segments of the audience but was not acceptable to the traditionally oriented.

The concept of tatawur (literally, evolution) signifies changes which are considered improvements. In Arabic music, tatawur refers to the adaptation of some of the characteristics of performance practice in western art music (e.g., the increase in the size of performance ensembles, the use of a conductor, and the adoption of the behavioral norms of western music concerts).

The examination of these notions is significant. While both involve the incorporation of western elements in Arabic music, tajdid is unacceptable to connoisseurs because it involves changes in elements intrinsic to Arabic music (e.g., principles of pitch and time organization). Tatawur, on the other hand, is desirable because the elements changed are not regarded as defining criteria for this tradition.

## THE RESEARCH POPULATION: MUSICIANS AND AUDIENCES<sup>5</sup>

Musicians and audiences constitute the most important segments of this project's research population. Relevant data pertaining to both groups as they presently exist has been obtained through interviews and questionnaires. Intensive interviews were conducted during the major portion of the field research. Questionnaires were administered during the final phase.

<sup>5</sup>This analysis only refers to audiences which attend public performances of Arabic music in formal contexts (e.g., concert halls and large theatres).

A preliminary examination of some of the data pertaining to musicians and audiences provides important insights into the problem at hand. Some of these can be summarized as follows. On the one hand, most musicians range in age between twenty-five and sixty-five, belong to the middle and lower middle classes and have received either non-institutional or institutional musical training (it is usually the younger musicians who have received formal institutional training). On the other hand, audiences are mostly less than forty years of age, belong to the middle and upper-middle classes and have received university education.

Both groups have been thoroughly exposed to many aspects of western culture, including music. Many musicians have been formally trained in western music and have learnt Arabic music through enculturation. In addition, most musicians regard bimusicality (having an equal degree of expertise in Arabic and western music) as one of the most desirable qualities for an Arabian musician.

Both groups have also been exposed to the turath (literally, heritage) of Arabic music with its "old" way of performance (that is, pre-1940's approximately). Many musicians and a good percentage of the audience can identify differences between "old" and contemporary performances. Most prefer contemporary renditions and cite factors such as the orderliness of the performance, the rendition of the music from written notation, and the "rich" sound produced from the larger ensemble as the main criteria for their choice.

All data pertaining to musicians and audiences are presently being analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The results of this analysis will then be correlated with data on the musical and socio-political context. It is hoped that the results of this analysis will lead to the understanding of the "meanings" and motivations of music change in this context.

## THE ELEMENTARY STRUCTURE OF THE ENTITY EXAMINED

Using a research strategy based on the notion of system, it has been found that the parts in the entity examined could (at any point in time) be reduced to the following inter-related elements which constitute its basic structure:<sup>6</sup>

- (i) Private and/or public domains;
- (ii) Institutions of music learning (music institutes, the Qur'an chant tradition, private instruction);

<sup>6</sup>Structure is defined as a set of relationships between elements.

(iii) Vehicles for the transmission of the music product, either directly to the audiences or indirectly through mass media;

(iv) Consumers of the music product (audience).

The interrelationships among these elements involve four operations:

(i) Public and/or private domains provide economic support and professional directives to institutions of music learning and to vehicles for the transmission of the music product;

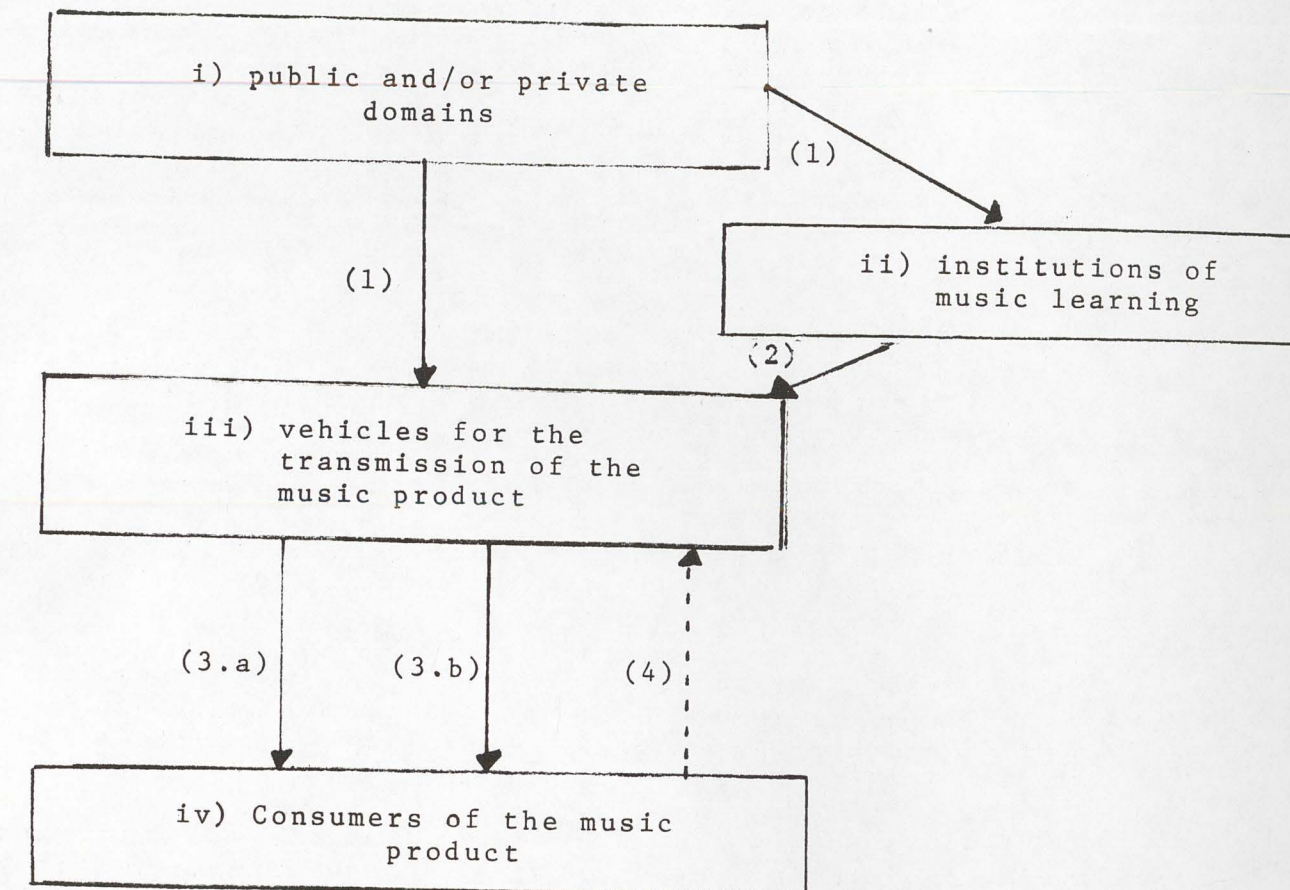
(ii) Institutions of music learning provide performing groups with trained musicians;

(iii) Vehicles for the transmission of the music product provide audiences with live and recorded performances;

(iv) The audience responds to the vehicles for the transmission of the music product either by encouraging (and thus consuming) the performed product or by rejecting it.

These elements and their interrelations are represented in diagrammatic form in Appendix 1. The close examination of this structure shows that element iii (vehicles for the transmission of the music product) is its focal point. It mediates between the providers of support for the music product and its consumers and, thus, is the ideal medium through which changes can be implemented. Indeed, preliminary analysis has shown that throughout the period studied, vehicles for the transmission of the music product have functioned as effective mechanisms of change.

Various manifestations of this structure were examined at selected points in time. These were chosen on the basis of the availability of data and the occurrence of significant changes. Some findings which result from the examination and comparison of those structures pertain to the implications of private and public support for musical activities and the role of the radio station and the film industry in directing musical change. These will be discussed in detail in my dissertation.



↓ = provide  
 ↑ = respond with  
 ⋮

- (1) Professional directives and financial support
- (2) Trained musicians
- (3.a) Live performances of the music product
- (3.b) Recorded performances of the music product
- (4) Support through consumption

## THE ELEMENTARY STRUCTURE

### APPENDIX 1

